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ABSTRACT

The 'Grand Tour', with its own ideological justifications, was essentially an 18th-century paradigm of travel in Europe. It referred to a journey very different from any other because it was predominantly elitist in character, and educative rather than exploratory in intention. Transposed to the imperial scenario of colonial India, however, the 'Grand Tour' took on a different character. In this context, this paper considers English educated 'babu' Bholanauth Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo* (1869) as an early attempt to formalize leisure or domestic travel. The endeavour is even more significant in a cultural environment in which the only socially sanctioned mode of travel was the pilgrimage. The paper also explores how this 'Grand Tour' in the context of the later 19th century enabled a visit by the colonized subject from India to Britain and London, a passage opened up by the spread of English education in the colony. This tour worked around expectations and assumptions that redefined the nature of the travel book and the character of the entries/observations made. The paradigm shift in the concept of the 'Grand Tour', where the observer becomes the observed, constituted a new development that challenged the primary ideology of the Tour by critiquing the very basis of the European civilizing mission. For the colonial subject, the 'Grand Tour' of London constituted the ambitions of the marginalized subject to critically observe the imperial rulers in the context of their own culture and learn lessons that would create an enabling socio-cultural environment for reconstituting themselves into a nation.

In the specific context of India, when did the global epoch begin and what does it mean to be a global citizen? Is globalization a process of homogenization that seeks to obliterate cultural differences? Does being transnational mean that boundaries of nation, race, class, caste, and religion are transgressed? Can globalization be seen as a challenge to the status of sovereign states and the concept of national citizenry? These questions are inextricably linked with viewing globalization not merely as an economic and political phenomenon, but also a historical and cultural process. So the origin of the global epoch in India is likely to be contaminated by nostalgia for a colonial past, the conditions of a postcolonial present and the expectations of a decolonized future.

It is in this continuum of change that journeys and travels have operated as encounters with difference, processes of transculturation,[1] and discoveries of the self. In the age of European Enlightenment the 'Grand Tour' functioned as a comprehensive model of tourism. The grand tourist was usually a young English aristocrat sojourning in France and Italy, prime cultural destinations that encapsulated the essence of civilized Europe. Exposure to such 'civilized' foreign countries was an adjunct to a liberal education and a part of the Lockean empirical project of enhancing knowledge by coming in contact with varied external stimuli. So the travel paradigm involved was the journey from a 'civilized' locale to a 'more civilized' center rather than from periphery to metropolis.

Transposed to the context of early colonial India, tours through the country by the colonial administrators were a vastly more challenging experience of confronting the uncivilized and barbaric unknown. These were largely categorized as exploratory ventures involving topographical surveying and mapping exercises, using scientific methodologies of accumulating data and taxonomic procedures for documentation. Alongside the application of these scientific and experimental schemes operated efforts to decipher difference and concentrate on the exotic in people, customs, and cultural practices. This process of 'understanding', reading, and misreading was marked by simplistic classificatory models or oppositional binaries, which were incorporated as tools of analysis into overarching orientalizing projects.

For the indigenous subject, newly initiated into Western education, the radical act of travel was transgressing the kalapani (literally black waters)[2] to visit Europe and England, which constituted a form of intellectual cosmopolitanism. Such cosmopolitanism demanded a degree of self-reflexivity and an awareness of multiple ambivalences. Travel or spatial dislocation entailed

breaking through the shackles of tradition and superstition to become 'modern'. For the colonial subject, touring within the country was a liberating phenomenon even when encouraged by the colonial administration, which wanted its trajectory of imperial growth documented in official records, physically witnessed through a socio-economic transition, and reinforced by the emerging project of taming a recalcitrant reality.

Baboo[3] Bholanauth Chunder was a Western-educated Bengali bhadralok[4] who generously acknowledged his debt to 'the paternal government of the British in India' (I: Dedicatory epistle to Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence, Viceroy and Governor-General of India) for his education. He graduated from the erstwhile Hindu College[5] and received the kind of training that, according to Macaulay's 1835 "Minute on Indian Education," was expected to create a category of clerks and writers to serve the administrative machinery.[6] Paradoxically, such an education enabled the emergence of an indigenous intelligentsia empowered by Western education, rational thinking, and critical acumen to collide and collude with changing colonial designs.

Bholanauth's travel narrative *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India* (1869) records several journeys in Bengal and Upper India. The first recorded trip was in 1845 up the river Hooghly; the second, in 1860, was a tour through the North Western Provinces, and the third an 1866 journey to Delhi. Like Daniel Defoe's *Tour Through the Island of Great Britain* (1724 -1727) Bholanauth's *Tour* presents "a tithe of the stock of local traditions, gossiping stories, and exhaustive descriptions" (xiii) that enabled the English reader "to take a survey of India with the eyes of a Hindoo" (xii). The writer had a dual task: to decode culture and difference for the foreigner and to explain change, progress, and material advancement to subaltern India.

In the very act of writing his *Travels* in English, Bholanauth participated in the ongoing historical forces of empire.[7] The alternative subaltern histories of kingdoms and dynasties are relegated to a pre-colonial space in the narrative and are evoked only in terms of memory.[8] The subaltern subject witnesses the socioeconomic transformation of the rural lower Bengal region of Raur, and traces it to agrarian laws and organized governmental interventions:

> Nothing afforded us so great a pleasure as to pass through a country of one wide and uninterrupted cultivation, in which paddy fields, that have justly made our country to be called the granary of the world extended for miles in every direction… (Bholanauth I: 64)

This scene of abundance marks a change from the wastes and jungles, the uncultivated expanses, the famines and pestilences that were common previous to 1793, the year of the Permanent Settlement.[9] After the Battle of Plassey (1757), which marked the end of Muslim rule in Bengal, "[under] security against an enemy from abroad" there was a manifold increase in population, an

extension of cultivation and economic stability marked by a significant rise in the value of landed property (Bholanauth I: 65).[10] This trajectory of growth, accumulation of capital, and proliferation of trade was the beginning of the process of opening up the country to global influences that more specifically, in the context of that age, meant succumbing to English and European exploitation.

Visible physical changes catalyzed and modernized thought and attitudes to a large extent. In the raging Anglicist-Orientalist debate, Bholanauth sided with the Anglicists, considering Sanskrit learning as an essentially antiquated system:[11]

> In the fullness of time, have the evils which the Brahmin perpetuated for his advantages recoiled upon his head. His vaunted learning, instead of being a qualification, is now his positive disqualification. It does not enable a man to shake off political servitude, to develop the resources of his country, to extend commerce, to navigate the seas, to construct railroads and to communicate from Calcutta to London. (I: 41)

Command over communication systems and control over technology have been key factors in the history of colonization and globalization. These dual sources of prowess are also crucial factors in inculcating a feeling of superiority. Guns and ships in the early era of European navigation and exploration struck a sense of awe and wonder into people inhabiting less developed regions. In Bholanauth's narrative, the steam locomotive and the railways, which were introduced in the Indian subcontinent in 1853, opened up the remotest areas of the country, were marvels of technology and scientific advancement:

> Travelling by rail very much resembles migrating in one vast colony, or setting out together in a whole moving town or caravan. Nothing under this enormous load is ever tagged to the back of a locomotive, and yet we were no sooner in motion than Calcutta, and the Hooghly, and Howrah, all began to recede away like the scenes in a Dissolving View…. The Hindoo look upon the Railway as a marvel and miracle—a novel incarnation for the regeneration of Bharat-versh. (Bholanauth I: 140)[12]

Interestingly, Bholanauth conceptualizes a new history that marked the end of kingdoms and the rise of a single country and people subscribing to notions of sovereignty and statehood. The changing face of the country recorded in this text explicitly reveals the rising prosperity and growth juxtaposed against counter images depicting vestiges of past glory and present decay. This contrast between past and present, decay and growth was a rhetorical strategy to validate a process of social transition and emerging order. The narrative moves through a succession of districts and scenes, unearthing marvels, folktales, and wonders. These graphic details and legends arrange the experience of the past

in broken perspectives, creating an impression of dislocation as well as of an unfinished ongoing process of change. The narrator/tourist tries to align these disparate bits of oral information into an emerging historical sequence of events. A sense of the past and a lapse of time (evident in pictures of ruins and decay) are yoked to the concept of material progress that reveals a future prospect of national resurgence. The *Travels* unfold a fluctuating panorama of enclaves of buoyant growth and depths of ruined decrepitude, images of crumbling architecture and expanses of agricultural plenitude to generate a dynamic narrative that records the passage of time and reinforces a sense of fluidity of movement. As Bholanauth sails alongside riverine villages and small towns of rural Bengal and up the rivers into the Upper Provinces or travels by rail coach, that iron marvel on wheels, or uses the dak gharry over the Grand Trunk Road, or rides the traditional bullock drawn cart on bumpy rural paths, he is essentially trying to piece together disparate experiences into a holistic view of his location as subject and identity as viewer.[13]

In introducing this book to the English reader, J. Talboys Wheeler describes the text written in English as "the genuine *bona fide* work of a Hindoo wanderer, who has… looked upon every scene with Hindoo eyes, and indulged in trains of thought and association which only find expression in Native society, and are wholly foreign to European ideas" (Bholanauth I: xii). The text was commended for providing authentic insights into otherwise unintelligible or idolatrous customs, beliefs and practices of indigenous peoples. Bholanauth is a meticulous guide to places of pilgrimage, temples, deities, and divinities, and reconstructs the mythic and Puranic, the Vedic and pre-Vedic history of monuments, dynasties and sites, often invoking the laws of Manu.[14] The "Hindoo eyes" also traverse the history of "Mahomedan" inroads, the Ghori, Ghazni, or Mughal rule, their conflicts for power and authority with Rajput, Mahrattha, and Pathan dynasties. The submerged history that emerges is one of heterogeneity and multiplicity and the discerning gaze of the wanderer, "a fair type of the enlightened class of English-educated Bengalee gentlemen" is a shifting one (I: xii).

Bholanauth tries to integrate the cosmopolitan and the provincial, the colonial and national perspectives on the status of the country. From early times, race, caste, and class were important parameters for determining the social and material predicament of human beings in the country. Belonging himself to the "class of Bunniahs, a caste of Hindoo traders, who hold the same rank as that of the ancient Vaishyas, or merchants" he critiques the concept of caste and hierarchy (Bholanauth I: xiii). He is convinced that in the wake of the new learning, the Brahmins were set to lose their position as a dominant caste. The writer promotes a new rationalist historiography that sought to explain colonial rule. Social homogenization seems to be part of the process of modernization and change:

> [The] results of the progress and spread of the English knowledge… has dealt a greater blow to Brahmin power and religion than had been done by the fire and sword of Mahomedans…. It has silently worked a revolution producing deep and lasting effects, and elevating the Sudra from the level of the swine and oxen to which the Brahmin had degraded him. The introduction of a mighty force has overpowered the influence which was unfavourable to science, to civilization, and to the well-being of mankind. (Bholanauth I: 40)

Paradoxically, despite the thriving agriculture of rural districts in Bengal, the narrator notices that the standard of living—food habits, clothing, education of the agriculturist had not been adequately upgraded and comments: "He still works out his existence like the beast that he drives in the field, and is a stranger to the civilization and enlightenment which have followed in the train of British rule" (Bholanauth I: 24).

Bholanauth uses the same justification disseminated by the colonizers for colonial rule. Provincialism is construed as an obstacle to progress, while urbanization is seen as an integral step in the process of homogenization and modernization. Pluralism and multiculturalism remain contested notions and Bholanauth's account of the Santhals, an aboriginal community, renders the 'Hindoo' and the 'European' perspectives:[15]

> The Santhal is a curious specimen of the human species—an interesting subject for the ethnologist. He belongs to the Tamulian family of mankind—a race existing from prehistoric, perhaps antediluvian, ages, and the progenitors of which were the ancients of our ancient Aryans. He is the descendant of a cognate branch of those who are styled in the oldest hymns of the Rig-Veda, a work forty centuries old, under the denomination of Dasyas—afterwards the Asuras of the Poorans. (I: 182)

By drawing on traditional historiography, this account converts the Santhal into the "Dasyas" or "Asuras," the race of slaves and devils. The visible physiognomy and features, the language, the customs are deciphered as non-Aryan but in true European fashion the race is romanticized as that of the "naked savage" equipped with the "honest simplicity and nobility of the true barbarian" (Bholanauth I: 182ff). The interest taken in the life-style, religion, and beliefs of the Santhalees afforded rich ethnographical data, which formed the core of research and study, so that "before many generations pass away they are destined to emerge into notice, to occupy a place in the history of our country, and rise to an honourable position in the view of nations" (I: 196). This rational, unprejudiced, Enlightenment vision is the new cosmopolitanism of the 19th century. It is an outlook that attempted to blur cultural contradictions

and erase racial memory to create new topographies of identity fostering potential introverted nationalisms.

The 'Grand Tour' of the country provided access to various forms of otherness that could not be brought under the rubric of simple tropes of power and control, or the logic of dominance and subordination. The "colonial vision" was not necessarily the colonizer's vision but that shared by the colonized elite, who assumed a cultural and moral superiority in terms of values, sensibilities, and attitudes. In some senses this constituted a "cosmopolitan" rather than "Hindoo" vision that recognized difference but claimed equality and contested anxieties with an optimistic faith in progress and change:

> The present Hindoo is a mere tiller of the soil, because he has no more capital, and no more intelligence, than to grow paddy, oil seeds, and jute. But the increased knowledge, energy, and wealth of the Indians of the twentieth and twenty-first century, would enable them to follow both agriculture and manufactures, to develop the subterranean resources, to open mines and set up mills, to launch ships upon the ocean, and carry goods to the doors of the consumers in England and America. (Bholanauth I: 169)

Embedded as a subtext in the travels of this liberal 19th-century Bengali Baboo is the tension of burgeoning nationhood as well as the potential of global expansion. In a postcolonial world this projects the displacement and appropriation of local cultures and the emergence of a global culture largely directed and shaped by commercial and material considerations.

This paradigm of travel within the country was more of a physical movement across geographical and temporal space, and the forms of otherness encountered were visibly local and contextual. The year that Bholanauth published his travels also marked the opening of the Suez Canal, regular passenger steamship trips to Europe, and therefore a shortening of the physical distance between London and Calcutta or Bombay. The other 'grand' journey undertaken by colonized Indian subjects in the 19th century was travel from the colony to the metropolis, which generated another corpus of travel texts.

In the later 19th century, several colonial tourists, enthused by Western education and widespread exposure to European, more specifically English print culture, wanted to see the countries they had read and heard about. A tourist such as Chandrasekhar Sen, for example, was a well-travelled person, yet comments that although his travels within the country exposed him to varied indigenous customs and beliefs, the experience lacked "a sense of novelty, of something entirely unfamiliar that takes one by surprise" (Sen *Shanne's* 1). Sen's visit to Europe in 1889 was a much-coveted dream described in *Shanne's Tour Round the World*, the English title of a vernacular text.[16] Protap Chunder Mozoomdar (1840-1905), a Brahmo missionary, visited Europe, America and Japan in 1874, 1883, 1893, and 1900.[17] When publishing *A Tour Round the World* in 1884,

Mozoomdar referred to his travelogue as modest "way-side pictures" that he hoped "would call forth some real interest among my young countrymen who are fast imbibing a taste for foreign travel" (Mozoomdar i-ii). Pandit Shivnath Shastri (1847-1919), also a Brahmo missionary, voyaged to England in 1888 and kept meticulous diary accounts in his mother tongue, Bengali, which were published serially in a Bengali journal in 1956-57.[18]

The passage to England charted in the texts iterates a set pattern of geographical and spatial movement, from Calcutta to Bombay or Madras, then via Colombo to Aden, through the Suez Canal to Port Said and Alexandria, then on to Malta or Marseilles, Gibraltar, Plymouth, and London. The distance traversed was also temporal, as the repetitive colonial trope of past glory and decadence was set off by concentrating on Eurocentric models of progressiveness and modernization. Often a sense of déjà vu marked the tours, and the curiosity generated about institutions and practices was in tune with a suppressed anxiety to decodify a civilization predominantly associated with the experience of an authoritative colonial presence. What several travellers did discover were intellectual, social, and religious discourses that underlined fundamental disparities in outlook and perspective on life and values between the indigenous and European.

Shivnath Shastri identified the commitment to human dignity as the key to an equitable social system. It is the loss of individual pride and self-confidence occasioned by the historical circumstances of years of subjugation that are made responsible for "all our woes" (Shastri 4). The act of travel could transform a colonial subject into a "citizen of the world," and Shastri enumerates the ways in which the broadening of mental horizons would reshape his religious and nationalist agenda on his return to the home country (206). Protap Chunder Mozoomdar notices the wide chasm that separates the two cultures and commends the efforts of academics and intellectuals to harmonise the movements of liberal thought that "bring together East and West through the widening mediums of language, philosophy and science of religion" (Mozoomdar 91).[19] This constituted a new form of sharing and understanding that sustains the underlying rationale of becoming transnational.

Paradoxically, however, these travel texts were not unequivocal in reflecting a social reality or depicting a foreign country. Critiques of public life and private values were perceptive, but often blunted by an anxiety to identify an ideal system of law and governance. Sen, like Shastri, adopted the view that poverty, ignorance, and suffering were universally found in all countries. To delve into the darker side of life in Britain, he argued, was a useless pursuit; improvement and change could only come through knowing the positive (Sen *Shanne's* 263). The alternate pictures of decadence and progress that controlled the dynamics of Bholanauth's travel narrative are subverted into uni-dimensional monochrome frames that capture the achievements of imperial destiny.

The concept of the European 'Grand Tour' oriented towards physical destinations was transformed into an ontological quest through temporal space. The focus was on a traveller's negotiation of interiority, a journey in search of the self. Mozoomdar writes:

> To describe London would be to count the waves of the sea. It is an oft-repeated, vain, useless undertaking… This perpetual peripatetic restlessness is the opposite of all true Aryan repose… Oh! the whirling, jumping, bellowing, whistling population of the London streets—the crashing, roaring, tumbling traffic… It is bewildering to observe all this—I am but atom in the infinite man. Yet how well-kept, well-rounded, self-conscious, self-concentrated every atom is! A man's only protection against the insanity of centrifugal forces lies here. (Mozoomdar 19)

The awareness of the self is problematized by the plurality of selves, "the infinite man," and the travel experience itself becomes a cognitive experiment. Travel writing from colonial India was largely controlled by the trajectory of imperial history, but the location of the subject in the colony, the metropolis or the so-called New World held out possibilities of contesting visions across cultures. Each of the texts examined here is an eyewitness account, mixing history, description, and narrative in recording an actual tour. Like travel itself, the texts move through space and time, translate from one culture into another, counterpoint one way of seeing against another. There are ways of seeing and not seeing, of recognition and erasure, of illusions, visions, and insights. In a postcolonial world the location of center and periphery is ambiguous rather than deterministic; and in a typically decentered and therefore global and postmodern world, a traveller is at once everywhere and nowhere. Thus the 'Grand Tour' can be constructed as a trope to read, recognize, and interpret cultures and selves, to celebrate moments of knowledge, and contest continents of ignorance.

Notes

1. This term used by Mary Louise Pratt refers to how subaltern and marginalized groups invent from materials transmitted by a dominant, metropolitan culture. In Bholanauth Chunder's travel narrative primarily discussed here, he uses several citations from British travel texts by Bishop Reginald Heber, Lord Valentia, John Rennel, and others to authenticate his own observations. This perhaps shows a lack of self-confidence even while he casts his "Hindoo" gaze on the country and its people. See Pratt 5-6 & 228 n.4.

2. Hindus were prohibited by religious strictures from traveling abroad, as this could entail eating forbidden meat. In orthodox families, certain cleansing rituals would have to be followed on one's return from abroad. To read of several official records in this context, see Fischer. For more on Hindu shastric injunctions against travel, see Simonti Sen.

3. "Baboo" or "Babu" was an honorific used for educated middle-class gentlemen. For a succinct explanation of how use of the term changed over time, see Banerjee 179-180.

4. "Bhadralok," literally "gentleman" in Bengali, referred to a white-collar middle-class person, often moneyed and educated. See Banerjee 54-55.

5. Hindu College was established in 1817 for the education of young men from Hindu families. In 1855 it was renamed Presidency College and thrown open to all communities. The College encouraged modern education and a liberal, secular, scientific spirit that catalyzed conservative and tradition-ridden society and learning. See "General."

6. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), member of the Supreme Council of India in his speeches and reports devised a policy for English education, curriculum and the spread of the English language. For the full text, see Macaulay.

7. Writing in English was an elitist occupation, an immediate fallout of the system of education being brought under the Government. Bholanauth received tuition for several years at the Hindu College, where the Principal David Lester Richardson taught English literature in the two upper classes. Proficiency in English was a challenge to orthodoxy. According to Bholanauth Chunder, the Hindu College "occupied the first place in the field of Native education." See Chunder I: xix.

8. See Chatterjee.

9. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal was a major land reform measure in 1793 during the time of Lord Cornwallis. The landowners were allowed absolute proprietorship of their land which they earlier held on the basis of variable tax paid to the Mughals. The revenue was fixed under the settlement and the right to transfer property withdrawn. See Dharmakumar, Spear.

10. The Battle of Plassey or Palashi, 1757 is where Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah of Bengal was defeated by the British East India Company under the generalship of Lord Robert Clive. The Nawab's general, Mir Jafar, defected to the enemy camp, thereby deciding a battle that proved crucial in establishing British suzerainty over India. See Bose 45-47 & Fisher 59-65.

11. The Anglicist-Orientalist debate raged between 1781 and 1843. The Orientalists believed that the country should be administered according to indigenous laws, and that indigenous languages should be used for administrative purposes. The Anglicists preferred English, which was linked to subsequent political and economic policies. See Zastoupil.

12. Bharat-versh, or the land of Bharata, is an early concept of a united country rather than kingdoms and nawabis. The term "Bhārata" as a name for India as a whole is derived from the name of a legendary ruler mentioned in the *Mahabhārata*. The realm of Bharata is known as "Bharātavarṣa" in the *Mahabhārata* and later texts. The term "varṣa" means a division of the earth, or a continent.

13. The Grand Trunk Road, laid out by Sher Shah Suri in the 16th century, is one of South Asia's longest roadways. It began as a road that connected Agra to Sasaram, in Bihar, Sher Shah's homeland. It then stretched from Sonargaon in Bangladesh to Delhi and Peshawar. Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* features the romance and excitement of the G.T. Road, as it is fondly called. See for example Kipling 90-92.

14. *The Puranas* contain several books. These are post-Vedic Hindu texts that provide the narrative history of the Universe from creation to destruction, Hindu cosmology, philosophy and geography, genealogies of legendary and mythic dynasties. *The Vedas* are the oldest sacred texts of the Hindus. *The Rig Veda* is probably the oldest of the four major texts, composed around 1500 BCE and codified around 600 BCE.

The Laws of Manu or *Manusmriti* is an ancient work about codes of conduct, the caste system, and the stages of life prescribed for the Brahmin. Dating the *Manusmriti* is difficult, but it seems to have been written at a time when the Brahmanical tradition was threatened. It consists of over 2600 verses and was the first text to be studied by the British, and was translated by Sir William Jones in 1794. Jones estimated that the text was written between 1200 and 500 BCE. See Jones.

15. The Santhals are one of the largest tribal communities spread over Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Assam and Orissa. Bholanauth refers to the Santhals of Burakkur on the Bengal-Bihar border. Curiously enough, although Bholanauth has incorporated many details about the Santhals, he erases the memory of a major rebellion put down ruthlessly by British arms in 1855. For Gayatri Spivak's remarks on this insurrection, see Devi xxv-xxvi n. 5&6.

16. *Shanne's Tour Round the World* is the English translation of Sen's original Bengali text entitled *paribrajak Chandrashekhar Sener bhupradakshin o paschimanchal paridarshan*.

17. Mozoomdar was a close associate of Keshub Chunder Sen, and the present book describes his second visit to England in 1883 as a missionary of the New Dispensation, a church under the Brahmo Samaj. He addressed the Parliament of Religions, Chicago in 1893. The Brahmo Samaj (1828) was a reformist Hindu movement pioneered by Raja Rammohan Roy. It is closely linked to the Unitarian Church Movement in England and America. See Mozoomdar ii-x.

18. Pandit Shivnath Shastri was a Brahmo leader and reformist who preached in and around London on his visit that lasted from April to November 1888. His *Diary from England* (title translated from the original Bengali) was a compilation published in Calcutta in 1958.

19. Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), master at Oxford, was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1855. A noted theologian and reformer, he was inducted as the vice chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1882. Mozoomdar visited Oxford on the invitation of Professor Jowett during his term as Vice Chancellor. See Mozoomdar 91.

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